2: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1943
FX14 Lovedu FX14

Even if blood flows, no case can be brought against a herdboy, for he is still uncircumcised, irresponsible.

Training for both boys and girls in home-making is embodied in the institution known as *mungkwane*, which, while being little more than a game, is nevertheless accorded adult recognition. Utilization by the children of the harvest gleanings after reaping, which may be regarded as its practical economic aspect, is to-day not much in evidence, but while it lasts women whose sons are taking part are saved the trouble of cooking the evening meal. After the reaping, when the cattle graze in the *mealie* lands near home, *mungkwane* is begun by the girls calling the boys to come and be chosen. They stand in a row while each girl chooses a 'husband' by kneeling before and greeting the boy of her choice. He signifies his consent by answering the greeting. After the parents have been told of their intention to hold *mungkwane*, the boys begin to build rough huts in the fields, while the girls smear the floors and courtyards. Each couple may have its own establishment with very often also a small child chosen as their 'child', or one large house for all may be made. With pots, baskets, spoons, and other utensils borrowed from home, the girls stamp *mealie* meal and cook dishes of porridge, nuts, and pumpkin, while the boys, if they can, bring home birds as relish. The game begins about eleven o'clock in the morning and ends in dancing and singing after dark; this lasts for about ten days or more till, at the end, the miniature village is burnt. Each 'wife', in addition to serving food to her 'husband' in the proper manner, must also take food every evening to her 'mother-in-law' in the boy's home. This is eaten, not by the mother-in-law herself, but by children of the household who are not taking part in the game. Occasionally the elders walk over to watch activities in the play-village and give a word of advice. That the institution is taken seriously by adults is shown by the fact that, though *mungkwane* partners never marry, the mother of the girl will very often after the *mungkwane* take a gift of beer (usually five calabashes or so) to the parents of her small daughter's 'husband', who will slaughter a goat in recognition of the gift just as though the relationship were real. There is nothing to prevent relatives from being *mungkwane* partners. To-day the 'husband' is usually much younger than the 'wife' and the game is confined to children under the age of puberty. Not more than a few years ago, however, boys and girls of marriageable age used to take part, the institution being considered as primarily for them. One of the reasons for the change is the absence of many of the older boys at work in town, while the failure of young men to keep the rules against impregnation in the play sexual intercourse that often forms part of the game makes mothers loath to allow older girls to join in.

General behaviour, attitudes, and values are not taught by any formal training. These are inextricably bound up with life in the society and become unconsciously adopted by any one fully partaking in social life. Even a European, when speaking the language and trying to enter into their social activities, finds himself unconsciously taking for granted values that he never had before and which are certainly not to be found in European life. They seem to follow naturally from the social situation

3: Krige E-5 (1928-1938)1938 FX14 Lovedu FX14

881 794 established. Sometimes a school in which boys receive cuts on eith side of the face, it is associated also with rain ritual and with the *dzi* or ancestral spirits who come to earth and speak in a whistling, waili manner.

794 An interesting feature of the Northern Transvaal is the tenden for private people, strangers from tribes who have certain schools, set up schools with the permission of the chiefs in areas where th are not known. People are always willing to join them, and they a a source of great profit to the holder. Thus the Dikxale of the Hig veld have no *komana*; but a Narene man who has come to live in t area has brought *komana* drums and holds schools to which ma Dikxale go.

836 837 Sex Morality and Marriage. Sex morality among Lowve tribes conforms to the general pattern found over South Africa having pre-marital sex intercourse as an institution fully approved by society as long as no children are born. Furthermore, adulter which is an everyday occurrence, is not looked upon as serious in a way unless the parties are indiscreet and are discovered. Widow especially, are recognized as easy prey to male advances even thou they have been inherited by the husband's brother. The fine attache [684] to adultery is usually one head of cattle; but the general laxness better illustrated in the attitude found among the Narene, where the is no fine attached to adultery, though a man caught in the act wi send something to the husband to beg pardon. In court, the ba [695] word of a woman accusing a man of adultery is always accepte Seduction of a young girl is a much more serious offence than adulter [694] with the correspondingly higher fine attached to it of two head cattle and a goat, and realization that marriage is much more tha a sexual relationship between the parties concerned is shown in th fact that far from trying to promote marriage between the partie concerned, the parents of the girl will refuse any alliance with a bo whose people they do not consider suitable.

583 [71] Like all Sotho peoples, the Lowveld tribes have the institution o preferred marriage with certain relatives, in contrast to the Zulu Xhosa with whom marriage with any related person is taboo. Full 40 per cent. of all marriages are, in our Lowveld area, with th

4: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1954
FX14 Lovedu FX14

There is nothing morally wrong in sex or the sex act; not only is sex play among small children connived at, but premarital sex relations are institutionalized. It is only having a child before marriage that is immoral. For adultery restitution must be made, yet a husband who is jealous and watches his wife too closely is despised, and most men and women have extra-marital lovers (*estare*). The Lovedu attitude is less strict than that of the Tsonga living among them, for Tsonga married women are expected to be faithful to their husbands, and the compensation and fine for adultery are far higher than among the Lovedu. The Lovedu attitude to sex is matter-of-fact, and obscenity in ritual does not have a prominent role. Sex is handled with moderation: men are warned against the dangers of promiscuity; they learn from their proverb that 'a woman's pubes may break up a family', but passion is not esteemed and sex techniques are undeveloped.

To anyone brought up in the West European culture, where every breach of the moral code is also a sin in the eyes of a God who may punish the wrongdoer either in this life or the hereafter, an arresting aspect of Lovedu culture is that there is only a vague connexion between the ancestor-gods and morality. It has been said for the South Bantu in general, and by more than one authority, that the ancestors 'are the guardians of the moral code, it is they in the first instance who are thought of as visiting on their descendants punishments for some omission or commission'[1] There is among Lovedu a vague idea that failure to carry out one's kinship obligations may bring ancestral displeasure in the form of bad luck, and there may also be some connexion between such displeasure and *makeva*, the force generated by complaints of living kin, which causes illness. But a careful study of Lovedu religious practices over a period of years has brought to light no single instance in which ancestors have complained about anything not immediately concerning their own personal relations with their descendants—their right to tendance, remembrance, and propitiation; the manner of their burial; their desire to be told of major events in the lives of living kin. No ancestor has ever been known to concern himself with the theft, witchcraft, murder, or adultery of any descendant, nor do they trouble about the breaking of taboos which prevent rain and vitally affect the welfare of all. Lovedu ancestors are not upholders of custom in general; they are concerned only with those customs and taboos which affect their own welfare and that of their kin. Even royal ancestors do not concern themselves with the breaking of taboos that lead to drought. This is not a reflection of their carelessness or supineness, for they are quick to complain if, for example their graves are desecrated. On one occasion in 1938, when two men had cut firewood in the bush near the royal burial grounds at Maulwi, the *mwidzimi* wailed all night to indicate their displeasure. Again when Mulugwane, deceased chief councillor and brother of the queen, 'held her

[1] A. W., Hoernlé, 'Religion in Native Life', in *Thinking with Africa*, edited by Milton Sutcliffe, 1928, p. 100. See also, W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu*, 1928, pp. 380–90.

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

units which, each under a headman, enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy.[1] A large proportion of these districts into which the country is divided are ruled by the descendants of original sections of the nuclear group; a few have been allocated to alien groups under their own headmen while some are held by royal women, *batanesi* or 'wives' of the queen. Many districts now held by commoners originated from *batanesi* but since women do not succeed one another as heads of districts these have been inherited by their sons of husbands given to them by the queen. Royal wives (*batanesi*) are of various kinds. Some are of royal blood, daughters of close relatives of the queen to whom they have been given as a token of homage (*ho isha*). Only these are set up by the queen as rulers over districts. (Women may also rule areas in their own right where there is no male heir, as we shall see). Other royal wives are the daughters of district heads, while a number are daughters of foreign chiefs who come, sometimes with cattle, sometimes with money or a daughter to *isha* the queen for rain. Once a woman from within the tribe has been accepted by the queen as a royal wife, the tie is renewed from generation to generation on the pattern of cross-cousin marriage. Men may offer a daughter to the queen also in return for, or in the expectation of, economic help or political favour (though these are not always accepted) and there is a tendency today for districts to be subdivided into smaller and smaller units to satisfy the political aspirations of ambitious subjects. Royal wives bind to the queen not only her closest relatives but most of the important people in the tribe. Some wives are given away in marriage to her councillors, relatives and district headmen. Some remain with her and have allocated lovers. Children of these latter call the queen 'father' and she is responsible for helping them to marry.

The Lobedu proper appear originally to have regarded themselves as an aristocracy but today it is only the royal lineage (*ba Mokale*) and a number of important Lobedu district heads that are looked up to. Many non-Lobedu lineages have, by virtue of marriage links through royal wives, a higher status and are more closely related to the queen than sections of Lobedu themselves.

[1] For a general account of the Lobedu, see Krige, E. J. 1941, Krige, E. J. and J. D., 1943 and 1950, and Krige, J. D., 1939.